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UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE

HISTORY AND PRE-HISTORY OF SANSKRIT

BY

SUKUMAR SEN, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.,

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EXTENSION LECTURES

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INTRODUCTION

THE present monograph comprises the three lectures delivered at the University of Mysore on September 17, 18 and 19, 1957. The First lecture describes in brief the development of Old Indo-Aryan from Early Vedic to Classical Sanskrit through its two intermediate stages Late Vedic and Early Sanskrit. The name Sanskrit was unknown to Pāṇini. I have ventured to suggest that Kālidāsa was one of the first to use the name unmistakeably for the language. It may be noted that he does not use any name for Middle Indo-Aryan or *Prākṛta* but refers to it as “the easy” language (*Kumārasambhava* vii. 90). Professor Sivarama Sastry tells me that the name Sanskrit occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Sundara-kāṇḍa) where Hanumān first approaches Sītā and thinks about the language in which he would accost her. He is doubtful whether “Sāṃskṛta” speech, fit for a Brahmin, would be opportune as Sītā might then mistake him for Rāvaṇa in disguise. This reference to the Sāṃskṛta speech is of course earlier than Kālidāsa’s, but it probably means the “correct diction of a Brahmin”. Anyway. “Sāṃskṛta” here (*samskr̥tām vācam*) is an adjective.

As a matter of fact our ancient forefathers did not recognise any foreign language. To them language either was “purified” or “cultivated” (*samskr̥ta*) or was “off-standard” (*apabhṛ̥m̥śa*) or “rustic”

(*prākrta*). Speech was to them a divine thing ; it was the force that impelled the arrow of Rudra, it was the immortal vitality that sustained the gods, and all that is good and auspicious in them was contained in speech (*bhadraśām lakṣmīr nihitādhi vāci*). They also knew that speech is like a river (*Sarasvatī*) flowing, meandering, fertilising and sustaining. It was the chaste speech that obtained ambrosia or *Sōma* for the gods and it was the unchaste speech that brought defeat to the Asuras inspite of their seniority and superiority.

The Second lecture deals with the earlier stages through which the language had passed before it took shape as Early Vedic. In this pre-history also there had been four stages ; Proto-Indo-Aryan (we may also call it, less precisely, Pre-Sanskrit), Indo-Iranian (or Aryan), Indo-European, and Indo-Hittite. I have also given some account of the morphology of Hittite and for two reasons. It has not yet been taken up for study by linguistic scholars and students in India. This is one reason. The other is that inspite of the remoteness of connexion between Hittite and Sanskrit a comparative study of the two languages is bound to be interesting in view of the fact that Sanskrit (and Aryan) has preserved some features that are attested only in Hittite. I have mentioned Heteroclisis. Another good instance is the imperative ending *-tu* (as well as *-ntu*). As these endings occur only in Indo-Iranian it was formerly thought that they are Aryan innovations. But after the discovery of Hittite their remote antiquity has been admitted.

The Third lecture is on “Spoken Sanskrit”. By Spoken Sanskrit I mean something different from what Sanskrit scholars think. It is not Sanskrit as has been spoken from the days of Patañjali (and earlier) to our own times. It means that basic form of Old Indo-Aryan which was spoken by the people in general and which was the direct and immediate source of Middle Indo-Aryan. Mr. Walter Maurer first drew my attention to the importance of this “Spoken Sanskrit”. I dealt on the topic very briefly in my presidential address to the annual general meeting of the Linguistic Society of India held at Deccan College, Poona, in November 1956. Thanks to the University of Mysore, I have now been able to find an occasion to develop the theme.

I may mention here that beside Buddhistic (Hybrid) Sanskrit this “Spoken Sanskrit” had another and a much more debased form. It was used all over India by the half-educated and by ill-baked scholars as a sort of “Dog” Sanskrit. There are few records of this speech worth mention, but there is one very late record of some length. It is the very interesting book entitled *Sekasubhodayā* compiled in Bengal sometime in the fifteenth or the sixteenth century.

MYSORE,
September 21, 1957 }

SUKUMAR SEN.

I

HISTORY OF SANSKRIT

THE career of Sanskrit, or Indo-Aryan to be precise, started from the time of its separation from its immediate parent stock, Indo-Iranian or Aryan, which was a closely knit group of dialects spoken in Iran and in parts of Mesopotamia sometime before 1400 B.C. This may also be taken as the date of separation of Indo-Aryan from Indo-Iranian although there was not yet any question of the migration of Indo-Aryan into India. We do not know when the migration started. But there is no ground to assume that the Indo-Aryan speakers migrated from Iran in appreciable numbers before 1300 B.C. The date may be put still later, and it must be borne in mind that the migration was in waves and in successive times. The clans that migrated did not all belong to the same group nor was their language completely identical. 1400 B.C. as the date of the separation of Indo-Aryan is an assumption which is warranted on two grounds: (i) the existence of indisputable evidence of the proto-Indo-Aryan dialectal vocables occurring in some Hittite documents, and (ii) comparative estimate of the language of the *Rgveda* and of the Avestan *Gāthās*. The language of the *Rgveda* takes us to *circa* 1000 B.C. and that of the Avestan *Gāthās* to *circa* 700 B.C. A common source would take us back to *circa* 1400 B.C., at a moderate estimate.

I do not propose to discuss here the date of the *Rgveda*. On linguistic and historical grounds it is safe to date it in the tenth-eleventh century B.C. It is the date accepted by linguists.

Allowing 200 years for the incubation period the Indo-Aryan language may be presumed to have started on its career in the Indian soil from 1200 B.C. Before that the language was at the proto-Indo-Aryan stage.

The first two hundred years (1200-1000 B.C.) may be assigned to the Early Vedic stage. By Early Vedic I mean the language of the older part of the *Rgveda*. During the next three hundred years (1000-700 B.C.) the language was at the Late Vedic stage. By Late Vedic I mean the language of the younger part of the *Rgveda* and that of the *Atharvaveda*. The next three hundred years (700-400 B.C.) may be called the Early Sanskrit period (although the name Sanskrit was not given to the language till about 700 years later). Early Sanskrit includes the language of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads* as well as of the *Sūtras*. The language described by Pāṇini was the culminating phase of this stage. The fourth stage started from 400 B.C. and it is Classical Sanskrit as we know it from Pāṇini's norm. Since then Sanskrit ceased to grow as a current language. Except in vocabulary this language which served as the literary speech *par excellence* throughout the length and breadth of India was virtually the same language as was used by the first students of Pāṇini.

If we trace the progress—by progress I mean chronological development—of the language through the four stages we notice the following tendencies gradually gathering force :—

- (i) The archaic (and hieratic) vocabulary is being replaced by the new (and secular) words coming from the popular speech or from other linguistic stock. At the last stage we find not a few words adopted from Middle Indo-Aryan.
- (ii) The accent (intonation) which was very much significant at the first stage is practically lost by the third stage. A kind of stress has come in its place but it is no longer significant.
- (iii) The compound is becoming more and more popular so that at the last (*i.e.* classical prose) stage there is practically no limit to the number of its components.
- (iv) The primary affixes are losing popularity while the secondary affixes are gaining it.
- (v) The root nouns are gradually falling out of use, and consonantal stems are steadily changing over to vowel stems.
- (vi) Alternative (and dialectal) forms of the noun and the verb are being gradually eliminated.
- (vii) The instrumental case is fast losing its important idiom of concomitance. At the last stage an adnominal particle like *saha* is invariably used to signify concomitance.
- (viii) The injunctive mood disappears at the second stage and the subjunctive mood drops out at the third stage. The perfect loses its old value.

(ix) The bid of the future tense to grow into a system of conjugation proves abortive. The solitary modal form (subjunctive second person singular) in RV is *karisyāḥ*. The later stages know only the conditional (*i.e.* the imperfect of the future): *e.g.* *abhavīṣyat*.

(x) The importance of the finite verb in the sentence is on the wane. The sentence tends to become nominal (*i.e.* without a finite verb).

(xi) At the fourth stage the passive past participle (ending in *-ita*) and the possessive from it (ending in *-tavant*) stand as rivals of the finite past tense. Thus: *mayā kṛtam* = *aham akaravam*.

(xii) Adnominal adverbs (such as *kṛte*, *artha-*) are used increasingly as help words in the different oblique cases.

(xiii) The prepositions tend to lose their free use and to become compounded as verbal prefixes.

(xiv) The scheme of metres becomes more and more rigid but at the same time more and more prolific in variety.

The language as a whole presents a homogeneous texture, and its general characteristics may be outlined as follows:—

i. The phonemic system is simple. It comprises the following speech sounds:

Vowels *a, i, u*—short and long; *e, o*—long.

Diphthongs *āi, āu*—long.

Sonants *r*—short and long; *l*—short.

Semivowels *y, v*.

Consonants (stops) *k, kh, g, gh* ; *c, ch, j, jh* ;
t, th, d, dh ; *t, th, d, dh* ;
p, ph, b, bh.

Nasals—*n, ñ, ñ, n, m.*

Continuants—*r, l.*

Fricatives *s, s, s, h*—unvoiced ; *h*—voiced.

All phonemes except four—*n, ñ, ñ, n* and *h*—may occur in any position ; *ñ* may occur in any position other than the initial and the final ; *h* may occur only after a vowel finally and also medially before an unvoiced non-dental and non-retroflex ; *n* and *ñ* occur only in non-initial conjuncts. In sandhi *h* is changed into *r* after a vowel other than *a* and *ā* and before a vowel or a voiced consonant. Under the same conditions *h* after *a* is lost and after *a* it combines with it into *o*.

2. New words can be derived more or less freely by adding affixes to roots or to words. Sometimes there is no affix but the basic vowel may undergo a change (*Guna* or *Vṛddhi*). Words may combine into compound words.

3. Flexionally words fall into three classes : the substantive, the verb, and the indeclinable. The first two are variable in flexion and the last—originating mostly from the substantive—is not subject to variation in flexion. The substantive comprises nouns, adjectives and pronouns and are declined in three numbers (singular, dual and plural), three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter) and eight cases (nominative, vocative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative). There are several declensional patterns based on the final phoneme or on the gender or on both.

The verbal forms include the non-finite and the finite. The non-finite originally belongs to the substantive but as some of them (participles) admit of tense variation (*i.e.*, present such as *gacchan*, aorist such as *gman*, perfect such as *jugmivān* and future such as *gamiṣyan*) and all of them may govern a case like the finite verb they are grouped under the verb. The finite verb presents a very large variety of forms. It distinguishes two voices (active or *parasmaipada* and middle or *ātmanepada* which includes also the passive), three numbers (singular, dual and plural), three persons (first, second and third), five tenses (present, future, imperfect, aorist and perfect) and five moods (indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative and injunctive). There are also secondary conjugations such as the causative, the denominative, the desiderative and the frequentative.

There are different temporal and modal affixes, and the personal endings are often different in the different tenses and moods. Thus : - *a* -, - *aya* -, - *na* -, - *nu* -, - *ya* - etc. in the present tense ; reduplication in the perfect ; - *s* - etc. in the aorist ; - *a* - in the subjunctive etc., etc.

4. The language being entirely flexional there is not much scope for formal syntax. Each word bears the sign of its exact relation with other words in a sentence. There are however idioms in the use of cases and moods and tenses.

4.1. - 4.4.

The general characteristics of the four stages of Old Indo-Aryan may now be discussed.

Early Vedic, as already mentioned, is represented by the earlier of the Rgvedic hymns, but as the text handed down to us has had received some modifications at the time of its collection into the *Rk-samhitā* we are sometimes obliged to resort to orthoepic restoration as warranted by internal evidence, specially by the metre, by the readings of the *Padapāṭha*, by the observation of our ancient phoneticians and by external evidence culled from Old Iranian (Avestan and Old Persian). To give some instances : *pāvakā* - is always to be read *pavakā* - (cf. *sāyaka* - 'missile', *nabhāka* - a name); *virāṣāṭ* (also in the *Padapāṭha*) for *vīrasāṭ*; *dukṣata* (i 160 3) should be read *dhukṣatu* (as in the *Padapāṭha*); etc.

i. The vocabulary is largely peculiar, both in the substantive and in the verb. Any stanza taken at random from RV would show that not less than fifty per cent of the words are absolutely unknown in Classical Sanskrit. Sometimes the word is known only in a very different sense. I give two instances, one from the later and the other from the earlier stratum.

hírāṇyahasto ásurāḥ sunīthāḥ
 sumṝlikāḥ suávāṁ yātu arvā'ṅ
 apasédhān rakṣāśo yātudhā'ṅān
 ásthād devāḥ pratidoṣām gr̄ṇā'nah.

Here there are fourteen words of which seven (*sunīthah*, *sumṝlikah*, *svavān*, *arvāṅ*, *apasedhan*, *pratidoṣam*, *gr̄ṇānah*) are unknown in Sanskrit, and two (*asurah*, *asthāt*) are used in quite different meanings.

śáṁsā mitrásya várūṇasya dhā'ma
súṣmo ródasi badbadhe mahitvā'
áyan mā'sā áyajvanām avī'rāḥ
prá yajñamanmā vṛjánam tirāte.

Of the sixteen words here eight (*śamṣā*, *suṣmaḥ*, *badbadhe*, *mahitvā*, *ayajvanām*, *yajñamanmā*, *vṛjánam*, *tirāte*) are quite unknown, one (*rodasi*) is known but only as a borrowing from Vedic and one (*pra*) is unknown in such free use.

2. Intonation is significant. That is, the position of the accent often determines the semantic value and the grammatical function. Thus: *rā'jyputrāḥ* (Bahuvrīhi): *rājaputrāḥ* (Tatpuruṣa); *súkṛtam* “well done”: *sukṛtām* “good deed”; *dā'tā vásūni* “giving riches”: *dātā' vásūnām* “giver of riches”; *bráhman-* (n) “prayer”: *brahmán-* (m) “one who prays”; *yáśas-* (n) “glory”: *yaśás-* (m) “glorious”.

3. *e* certainly and *o* probably are still short diphthongs, *i.e.* they are pronounced as *āi* and *āu* respectively. This pronunciation is indicated in the *Pratiśākhyas* by mentioning them as *sandhyakṣara* (“sandhi vowels”). Internal as well as external evidence supports this. In RV *jyeṣṭha-* and *śr.ṣṭha-* are often to be pronounced as trisyllabics: *jyaiṣṭha-* and *śraiṣṭha-*. (So in Avestan *sraēsta-*.) The derivation of these words warrant diphthongs. Similarly *tredhā* (i 154.1) is to be pronounced as *traidhā*. The evidence for *o* is not clear. It is not unlikely that *au* had already become a monophthong. The only clear evidence in support is *somya-* beside *saumya-*. The latter (and later) form originated from the diphthongal pronunciation.

4. Hiatus is not avoided internally or externally although the Pada text often disguises it. Thus: *dáivya* - (i 35 5) = *dáivia* - ; *kvà* = *kúa*; *svápāḥ* (i 85 9) = *suápāḥ*; *tvám* = *tuám* (cf. Old Persian *tuvam*); *gām* (often) = *gāam* < **gāvam*) : *góḥ* (often) **gávah*; *saptāsyē* (iv 51 5) = *saptá-āsyē*; *híranyahasto* *ásurah*; etc.

There is much freedom in Sandhi as is expected in a language not remote from the spoken tongue.

5. Cerebralisation of a dental occurs in external sandhi also; e.g. *pári* *śtha* (vii 103 7); *prá* *na* *āyur* *jiváse* *soma* *tariḥ* (viii 48 4).

6. There is a marked tendency of dropping the initial sibilant in an initial consonant-group; e.g., *candra*, *paśyati*, *tāyu*, *tārā*, *tisthsti*; but *hariścandra*-, *spaśta*-, *steya*-, *str*-, *sthāsyathi* etc. The sibilant is however retained when the conjunct contains an aspirate or a liquid. Thus: *sthāna*-, *sphārā*-, *śrīmant*-, *ślīla*., etc.

7. The palatals *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh*, are still prepalatal stops and not affricates as later.

8. A final conjunct is simplified (unless it is protected or medialised in a phrase or word-group): *gacchan* (but *gacchaṁśca*), *akar* (for **akart*), etc. But -*rk*, -*rt*, and -*rt* (when -*r*- belong to a root) are retained: *vark* (<*vrj*-; **varkt*), *urk* (<*urj-s*), *āmārt* (<*amarj-t*), *āvart* (<*vrt-t*).

9. Root nouns are very common; e.g., *dā*-, *bhid*-, *vṛdh*-, *stu-t*-, *spaś*- etc.

10. Action and agent nouns in -*man* also are numerous: *mánman*-, *ájman*-, *jániman*-, *vidmán*-, *jéman*-, *dáman*-, etc.

11. Agent nouns in *tr-* when used participially generally govern the accusative. Thus: *g.intr-*, *datr-* but *gantr'-*, *datr'-(*with the genitive); *tárutr-*‘winning’; *tarutr'-*‘winner’.

12. Abstract feminine nouns in *-tāti* and *-tāt* are not out of use. Thus: *sarvitāti*, *sarvātāt*, *jyeṣṭhātāti*, *devātāt*. Later we have only *sarvatā* and *sarvatava-*.

13. Peculiar are the abstract neuter nouns in *-tvanā* (*sakhitvanā-* ‘friendship’, *janitvanā-* ‘wife-hood’), adjectives in *-ya* (*paśavya-* <*paśu-*, *śaravya-* <*śaru-*), diminutives in *-la* (*vṛṣala-* ‘little man’, *śiśula-*); feminine abstract nouns in *-vāt* from prepositions (*nivāt-*, *parāvāt-*, *udvāt-*), and possessive adjectives in *-van*, *-vin*, and *-vant* (very frequent): *maghavan-*, *samadvan-*‘warlike’; *aśvavant-*, *aśvāvant-*; *nrvant-*‘manly’; *ubhayāvin-*; etc.

14. The compound does not admit more than three words; usually it contains two components only. The governing compound (e.g. *śikṣānara-*, *vidadvasu-*) is a notable feature. The Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in *-i* or *-ṛ* do not add the pleonastic (*saṁśanta*) affix *-ka*, but the affix *-ya* appears in some Bahuvrīhi compounds; e.g. *daśamāsyā-*, *madhuhastyā-*, *viśvajanya-*.

15. The dual is in regular use but it is not as fully represented in declension as the other two numbers. The dual is the number when a natural pair or a closely associated duality is to be emphasised (e.g. *pitarā*, *mitrā* - *varunā*, *akṣi*, *cakre*), but even then we occasionally find the plural in place of the expected dual; e.g. *saṁ añjantu viśve davaḥ sam āpo hrdayāni* (for *hrdaye*) nau x. 85 47.

16. Alternative declensional forms are numerous e.g. *devā* : *devena* (instr. sg.); *devāih* : *devebhih* (instr. pl.); *devā* : *devāu* (nom. – acc. du.); *viṣṇau* : *viṣṇavi* (loc. sg.); *rājan* : *rājani* (loc. sg.); *yugā* : *yugāni* (nom. – acc. nt. pl.).

17. The stem *ava-* in the first personal pronoun dual is absent. The compound demonstrative *tya-* (*syah*, *syā*, *tyat*, etc.) is very common. The historical nom. – acc. sg. nt. of the interrogative pronoun (*kat*) has not yet lost its pronominal value.

18. The injunctive mood is still living; the subjunctive mood is quite vigorous. There are all possible modal variations of the tenses (e.g. *gaccha* pres. imp.; *gahi* aor. imp.; *mumugdhi* perf. imp.; *gacchet* pres. opt.; *gamyāt* aor. opt.; *jagamyāt* perf. opt.; *muñcāt* pres. subj.; *mumocati*, *mumocat* perf. subj.; *mucti* aor. subj.)

19. The use of the three past tenses is idiomatic: the imperfect is the past tense of narration; the perfect characteristically expresses the condition attained by the subject as the result of a preceding action; the aorist is neither narrative nor durative but expresses a past action with reference to the present. The present and the present perfect of English are often the equivalents of the Early Vedic perfect and aorist tenses respectively.

20. The augment is sometimes not used (impf. and aor.).

21. There is a large number of gerunds (in *-tvī*, *-tvā*, *-tvāya*, *-ya*, *-yā*, *-tyā*) and infinitives (acc., dat., abl. -gen. and loc.).

22. The prepositions are often free, *i.e.*, they are frequently used independently of the verb. There are also adnominal prepositions (or adverbs) that govern cases; e.g. *kam acchā yuñjā the ratham* (v 74 3); *vṛṣṭim ava divā invantam* (vii 64 2); *jāyā patim vahati vagnunā sumat* 'the wife weds the husband with a shout of joy' (x 32 3); *devesu ā*; etc.

23. *antar* precedes the word it governs; (as in Old Persian); e.g. *kadā nu antar varuṇe bhuvāni* (vii 86 2).

At the next, *i.e.*, Later Vedic stage, the language presents the following special features:—

1. Old (and hieratic) words are going out of use.
2. The *sandhi* phenomenon assumes some rigidity. *a* is elided after *-o* < *-as*; e.g. *so'pi<sah api*.
3. *e* has become a monophthong.
4. There is some resistance to the cerebralisation of dentals; e.g. *vistara-* beside earlier *viṣṭara-*; *sustha-* beside older *suṣṭhu*.
5. Derivatives in *-tat* and *-tati* go out of use; *-man* and *-van* are replaced by *-mant* and *-vant* respectively.
6. The root-noun declensions are becoming defunct (e.g. *gopā-* > *gopa-*), and consonantal stems are being replaced by the vowel stems (e.g. *nakt-* > *nakta-*, *spaś-* > *spaśa-*, *nr-* > *nara-*). Alternative declensional forms are on their way to elimination.
7. The older patterns of *i*, *-i* and *-u* declensions are dying out. That is, forms like *veh* (nom. sg.),

aryah (gen. sg.), *paśva* (instr. sg.) and *visṇavi* (loc. sg.) are no longer in use. The only exception is *sakhi-*.

8. The secondary demonstrative *tya-* is going out of use. The *āva-* forms of the first person dual are established.

9. The root *kr-* prefers a new conjugation (*karoti* in place of *kr̥noti*).

10. The conjugational variety is reduced to an appreciable extent. The injunctive mood is practically lost. The precative is fully established. There is an abortive attempt of the future tense to develop modal variation (as evidenced in Epic Sanskrit words like *kariṣyat* fut. imp.).

11. Some of the old gerunds and infinitives go out of use. Only *-tvā*, *-ya*, *-tya* (gerunds) and *-tum* (infinitive) remain. The infinitive in *-tum* rarely occurs in RV.

The difference between the Early and the Late Vedic stage is chronological as well as dialectal while the difference between Late Vedic and Early Sanskrit is mostly chronological.

The main features of Early Sanskrit are the following :—

1. The alternative forms in declension are almost completely eliminated.

2. The conjugational patterns are reduced in number and also simplified. The modal forms of the aorist are almost lost, and those of the perfect are completely lost. The subjunctive is on the way to extinction. Only a few forms of the perfect

participle survive (cf. Pañini's *sūtra* : *bhāṣāyam sada-* *vasaśruvah*). The periphrastic perfect (e.g., *gamayām* *cakāra* AV) and the periphrastic future (e.g., *anvāganī* *yajñapatir vo atra* VS, TS) are in common use. The passive past participle is established as a substitute for the finite verb, and its possessive form is coming into being (*asitāvant-* 'having eaten' AV ix 6.38 ; v. l. *asitā'vant-*).

3. The extended primary derivatives in *-anīya* (two occurrences only in AV, *amantranīya-* and *upajīvanīya-*) and in *-tavyā* (also in two occurrences only in AV, *janitavyā-* and *himsitavyā-*) appear.

4. A large number of secondary derivatives, particularly patronymics, find currency.

5. The pleonastic affix *-ka* begins to be added to the Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in *-i*, *-ū* or *-γ*. Thus *gomātrikāh* for the earlier *gomātarah*.

6. The dative singular feminine is used also for the ablative and the genitive. Thus: *ahalyāyai* *jārah*, *nadyai* *payah*. This has a parallel in Younger Avestan.

7. The perfect tense is used for the remote and the narrative past. This is no doubt an archaism.

8. The importance of the finite verb in the sentence is considerably lowered. The nominal construction is gaining in importance. An extreme development of the nominal sentence is the condensed *sūtra* style where the finite verb has been practically dispensed with.

Classical Sanskrit does not merely reflect the chronological sequence of Early Sanskrit. It is a literary language that is based on the speech of the educated men (*śiṣṭa*) of the midland (*Madhyadeśa*). At the same time it contains features which really belonged to the dialect of the North-west (*Udīcyā*), the mother-tongue of Pāṇini, the codifier of Classical Sanskrit. During Pāṇini's days the language was uniform as regards the general grammatical structure but there were dialectal differences in vocabulary and syntax. Pāṇini refers to two broad regional dialects mainly: the Eastern (*Prācām*) and the North-western (*Udīcām*)¹. Small dialect-groups are seldom mentioned, but one rare exception is the mention of the trans-Bias dialect area (*udak ca viśāḥ 4. 2. 74*). After Pāṇini the slight dialectal differences that existed in the learned language were levelled out completely, and the old historical dual compounds like *mātarapitārau* which Pāṇini mentions as belonging to the North-west remain merely as grammarians' curiosities.

Classical Sanskrit is very familiar to us all. Its main features therefore may be given in the broadest outlines:—

1. The sandhi rules are rigid. No hiatus is allowed unless it is caused by the disappearance of an

¹ Literally the words *prācām* and *udīcām* mean 'according to the easterners' and 'according to the northerners' respectively. The reference was of course to the grammarians of the eastern and northern regions.

intermediate sound (e.g. *tāh etāh* > *tā etāh*; *tapah-āsanam* > *tapā-āsanam*).

2. Vocabulary is enriched by the incorporation of new material.

3. The power of combining words into a compound is almost unlimited.

4. Alternative declensional forms are entirely eliminated. New analogical forms for the neuter are established (e.g. *madhune*, *madhunah*, *dātrni* etc.)

5. The subjunctive mood is lost; but its first personal forms are retained as the corresponding forms of the imperative. The precative, (originally a peculiar form of the optative aorist), is a very restricted idiom. Only the present forms of the two moods, the optative and the imperative, survive. As in the two earlier stages the injunctive survives as an alternative idiom only when the prohibitive particle *mā* is used, but then the imperative is an alternative idiom. Thus: *mā kārsīh*; *mā kuru*.

6. The passive and the possessive past participle are accepted in the value of the perfect (*nīṣṭhā*). The possessive past participle does not become a popular idiom, and possibly it had really belonged to the dialect of the North-west as Khotanese (a Middle Iranian neighbouring language) indicates.

The following table illustrates some points of morphological development of Old Indo-Aryan through its different stages.

Morpheme	Ratio in Early Vedic	Ratio in Late Vedic (AV)	Ratio in Sanskrit
Nom-acc. du. -ā : -āu	7 : 1	1 : 2	nil : 1
Instr. pl. -ebhīh : -āih	221 : 211	1 : 5	nil : 1
Pres. first per sg. -masi : -mas.	5 : 1	3 : 4	nil : 1

The development of the four stages in OIA is illustrated below.

(A) EARLY VEDIC

yas tā vi jānāt sa pituśpitāsat 'He who should know them would be the father of the father' (RV i 168 16d).

(B) LATE VEDIC

yas tāni veda sa pituśpitāsat (AV 2 1.2d). Here we find two changes: *tāni* for *tā* and *veda* (unreduplicated perfect=present; cf. *āha*, *āsa*) for *vi jānāt* (subjunctive). The second half is a repetition for RV.

(C) EARLY SANSKRIT (RECONSTRUCTED)

yas tāni veda sa pituḥ pitāsa. Here we do not expect internal sandhi between *pituḥ* and *pitā* and the subjunctive *asat* would be replaced by perfect (=present) *āsa* which is still in use.

(D) CLASSICAL SANSKRIT (RECONSTRUCTED)

yas tāni vetti sa pituḥ pitā bhavati. At this stage the few remnants of unreduplicated perfect (=present) are gone out of use, and *as-* has become purely a substantive verb.

II

PRE-HISTORY OF SANSKRIT

FOUR stages backward from Early Vedic bring us to the ultimate discernible source of the language. These are Proto-Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian, Indo-European and Indo-Hittite. The Proto-Indo-Aryan stage continued roughly for two hundred years (1200-1400 B.C.). The Indo-Iranian stage possibly occupied the next five hundred years (1400-1900 B.C.). For Indo-European and Indo-Hittite we may assume periods of five hundred years each: Indo-European from 1900-2400 B.C. and Indo-Hittite from 2400-2900 B.C.

For a full understanding of the Proto-Indo-Aryan stage it is necessary to have a picture of the Indo-Iranian stage. Indo-Iranian (or Aryan) as a separate branch of the Indo-European stock of languages possesses the following common characteristics.

1. The phonemic system is as follows :—
 Vowels *a, i, u*—short and long.
 Diphthongs *ai, au*—short; *āi, āu*—long.
 Sonants *?*—short and long.
 Consonants (stops) *k, kh, g, gh*; *c, ch, j, jh*
t, th, d, dh; *p, ph, b, bh*.
 Nasals *n, n', m*.
 Continuant *r*.
 Fricatives *ś, ś', s*—unvoiced; *z', z'', z*—voiced; *z'h, z''h*—voiced and aspirated.
 Possibly also *x, γ*.

2. There are two sets of palatals. One is derived from IE pre-palatal stops : *s, sh, z', z'h* < IE *k, kh, g, gh*. The other group comes from IE velars and labio-velars when followed immediately by a palatal vowel : *c, ch, j, jh* < IE *q (q^w), qh (q^wh), G (G^w), Gh (G^wh)*.

3. The declensional and conjugational patterns are not much different from that of Old Indo-Aryan but there are larger number of alternative and archaic forms and much less uniformity. A word may end in a consonant group. The augment (in impf and aor.) is generally not used. Of the innovations two are of special importance. In declension the influence of the pronoun is noticeable. In conjugation the primary endings are used also in the subjunctive mood (e.g. *bhavāti* beside older *bhavāt*). There is not yet a future tense, futurity as such being expressed by the present or by the subjunctive or implied by the context.

There are two main dialect-groups in Indo-Iranian : (i) Proto-Iranian and (ii) Proto-Indo-Aryan. The earliest evidence of Proto-Indo-Aryan is to be found in the word *aika*-'one' (as against Proto-Iranian *aiva-*) and in some names of gods (e.g. *Varuna, Nāsatya, Indra*) occurring in some Mitannian (Hittite) documents dated in the fourteenth century B.C.

The main points of disagreement between Proto-Iranian and Proto-Indo-Aryan are as follows :—

(a) The voiced aspirated are retained in PIA but become deaspirated (or very rarely) devoiced in

PI. Thus II* *dhāta*->PIA* *dhāta*-, PI* *dāta*-; II* *maugha*-> PIA* *maugha*- (OIA *mogha*-), PI* *mauga*- (Av. *maoya*-); II* *az'ham*> PIA* *azham* (OIH *aham*), PI* *azam* (Av. *azam*, OP *adam*); II* *bhavati*> PIA *bhavati*, PI* *bavati* (Av. *bavaiit*, OP *bavatiy*); II* *jhanti*> PIA* *jhanti* (OIA *hanti*), PI* *zanti* (Av. *jainti*); etc.

(b) The voiced sibilants (*z'*, *z^v*, *z'h*, *z^vh* including *j*, *jh*) are retained in PI but they are changed into *j* (<*z'*, *j*) or *h* (<*z'h*, *jh*) when intervocal in PIA. Before an unvoiced consonant II* *z'*, *j* become *s^v* in PI and *ch* in PIA. Thus : II* *yaz'ati*> PI* *yaz'ati*, PIA *yajati*; II* *jas^vs^vati*> PI* *jasati* (Av. *jasaiti*), PIA* *jacchati*; (for *gacchati*); II* *iz'ta*-> PI *iṣṭa*-, PIA *iṣṭa*.¹

(c) Before a voiced consonant II* *z'*, *z^v*, *z'h* become *z* or *z'* in PIA but are lost subsequently. In consequence there is a mutation of the preceding short vowel and a following dental is cerebralised. Thus : II* *azdhi*> PIA* *azdhi*> OIA *edhi* (Av. *zdi*); II* *mazdhā*> PIA* *mazdhā*> OIA *medhā* (Av. *mazdā*); II* *nizda*> **niz^vda*-> PIA *niz'da*> OIA *nīda*-;¹ II* *uz'hta*> PIA* *uz'dha*< OIA *ūdha*-.

(d) Glidic (or non-glidic) *s* and *z* in a consonant group is disappearing in PIA. Thus : II* *bādhsta*- (<*bādh*-+-*t.i.i*-)> PI *basta*-, PIA *baddhā*-; II* *vidvazdthis*-> PIA *vidvadbhis*; etc.

(e) Final *-s^v* (i.e. the palatalised *s* after *i* or *u*) in sandhi position before a vowel or a voiced consonant becomes voiced *z^v* which becomes *r* in OIA. Thus : II* *nis-āyam* 'I came out'> PI, PIA* *niz^vāyām*

¹ Pali *nedḍa* (<*nīḍda*-?) presupposes not the loss of PIA *z'* ittub assimilation with the following *d* (<*d*).

(cf. OP *nijāyam*)> OIA *nirāyam*; II * *dusmanas*> PI, PIA * *duz^vmanas*> OIA *durmanah*. Before *r* it disappears and lengthens the preceding short vowel. Thus: II * *nisrauga*-> PI, PIA* *niz^vrauga*-> OIA *nīroga*. Dialectally in PIA this *z^v* becomes *z'* and is lost before other voiced consonants ; e.g. II * *dus^vdabha*-> PIA * *duz^vdabha*-, *duz'dabha*->OIA *dūdabha*-(Vedic).

(f) The operation of Bartholomae's Law started at the Indo-Iranian stage and it is perhaps more strictly operative in Proto-Indo-Aryan. The law indicates that a consonant-group consisting of a voiced aspirate and an unvoiced aspirate changes into a group of voiced non-aspirate plus voiced aspirate. The phenomenon is a kind of mutual assimilation and metathesis combined. Thus : II * *dughta*-> IA *dugdh.i*;- II * *uz'hta*-> PIA * *uz'dha*->OIA *ūdh.i*;- II * *baz'hta*-> PIA * *baz'dha*-> OIA *bādha*;- II* *trnaz'hti*> PIA* *trnaz'dhi*> OIA *trnedhi*; etc.

(g) Proto-Indo-Aryan has, like Proto-Iranian, only *r* and *r̥* (for both long and short). In Old Indo-Aryan *r* has a dialected tendency of changing into *l*. (This tendency was probably already there in Proto-Indo-Aryan.) *l̥* in Sanskrit is a variant of *r̥*, and *r̥* (long) is an analogical creation in the written language. As a matter of fact *r̥* (long) occurs only in some plural case forms of some nouns, to be exact in nom-acc. pl. nt. and in acc. and gen. pl. of nouns in *-r̥* (e.g. *dātr̥ni*, *pitr̥n*, *mātr̥h* and *bhrātr̥nām*). The nom.-acc. nt. form is very late ; it does not occur in Vedic and is not generally met with in Classical Sanskrit literature. The acc. pl. and gen. pl. forms are not historical

(cf. Av. *brāoθrō*, *piθrām*; Vedic *narām*, *svasrām*). The short sonant in some Vedic forms (e.g. *nṛṇām* AV, *pitṛṇām* TS) also indicate that the long *-ṛ-* here is not historical.

The treatment of *r* and *l* in Old Indo-Aryan points out to this dialectal distribution :

North-western (Early Vedic)	Midland and Eastern (late and post-Vedic)
<i>rohita-</i>	<i>lohita-</i>
<i>rambate</i>	<i>lambate</i>
<i>roman-</i>	<i>roman-</i> , <i>loman-</i>
<i>śrīra-</i>	<i>śrīla-</i> , <i>ślīla-</i>
<i>rihanti</i>	<i>lihanti</i>
<i>raghu-</i>	<i>laghu-</i>
<i>pravate.</i>	<i>plavate.</i>

The dialectal treatment has produced some new roots (doublets) in Classical Sanskrit : *cal-* (beside *car-*), *lambh-* (beside *rambh-*), *locay-* (beside *rocay-*), *lap-* (AV, beside *rap-* RV), *lup-* (AV, beside *rup-* RV) *dal-* (beside *dar-*, *dr-*), etc.

(h) The unvoiced aspirates which were not regular and common speech-sounds in Indo-European become almost regular in Indo-Iranian, but still there is some hesitation between the aspirate and the non-aspirate. There are in Indo-Iranian a good number of important words where the aspirate as well as the non-aspirate features. Thus: Av *his^vtaiti* goes back to II **s(t)istati* (cf. Gk. *histāmi*) and OIA *tis̤thati* to II **stis̤thati*. Similarly Av *ast* and OIA *asti* go back to II¹**ast(h)-*; OIA

panthā- and Av. *pantā-* to II **pant(h)ā-*. Even within Old Iranian there is such an alternance; e.g., Av. *ahmākam* (OIA *asmākam*): OP *a(h)māxam*. We shall see later that such alternance goes back to Indo-European. Some languages preferred the non-aspirate only while the others retained both. But at the Proto-Indo-Aryan stage the non-aspirates are generally discarded in preference to the aspirate, and in OIA there is no hesitation between *t* and *th* or between *k* and *kh*.

(i) In Proto-Indo-Aryan the present in *-(i)sya-* is emergent as the future tense. Originally it belongs to the category of the present.

In contrast with Early Vedic Proto-Indo-Aryan presents the following characteristics:—

1. The cerebral sounds—*t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, and *ṇ*—are coming into being. *s* had already become *s^v* after *i* and *u* at the Indo-Iranian stage; this *s^v* becomes *ś* in PIA and it cerebralises a following dental in a conjunct (e.g., *vapusṭamā*, *triṣṭubh-*, *tisṭhāmi*; PIA **jausṭā*> OIA *josṭā*, cf. OP *dauṣṭā*). II *ś* also become *ś* in PIA, when it is the first member of a group and precedes a dental stop (e.g., *diṣṭa-* < *diś-*; *spaṣṭa-* < *spaś*; *viṣṇu-* < *viś-*; *prṣṭa-* but *praśna-*). Medially II *z'* and *z^v* (voiced form of *s^v*) become *-z'* in PIA and cerebralises a following voiced dental in a conjunct (e.g., II **saś daśa*> **saz^vdaśa*> PIA **saz' daśa*; > OIA *sodaśa*; II **vaz'htum*> PIA **vaz'hum*> OIA *vodhum*; II *(a)*pi-sd-* (from *api-sad-*)

> * *pizv*d-> PIA * *piz'd* > OIA *piḍ-*; II * *nizv*da-> OIA *nida-*).

Apart from the conjuncts there was, no doubt from the beginning, an inherent tendency towards cerebralisation of the dentals. The dentals were not true dentals but alveolars. Nevertheless it is not very clear to us how the whole series of the cerebral sounds came to be included among the essential phonemes in Indo-Aryan. There might have been some influence of an unknown linguistic stock (popularly believed to be Dravidian).

2. Final -s becomes unvoiced -h, and the voiced h now develops from the voiced spirants z'h and jh, and then starts the tendency to reduce the spirantized pronunciation of dh into h. Thus ; II * *az'ham*> IA *aham*; II * *jhanmi*> OIA *hanmi* : II * *dhita-*> PIA * *dhita-*> OIA *hita-*; II *-dhi (imp. sg. ending)> PIA *-dhi> OIA -hi. The substitution of h (< II jh) by dh in sandhi (as in *ud-hata->uddhata-*) is due no doubt to progressive assimilation. But in a few rare forms like *ujjhityai* (<*ud-hā-*) and *pajjhatiṭikā* (for *paddhatikā*) h has reverted to its historical form and there is regressive assimilation.

As yet there is no tendency to reduce gh and bh to h; *droha-* (beside *drogha-*), *moha-* (beside *mogha-*), *dāha* (beside *dāgha-* as in *nidāgha-*) etc., have the final -ha not from -gha but from II *-jha. Thus : IE * *dhreuGho-*> II * *draughā-* (cf. OP *drauga*)> OIA *drogha-* but IE * *dhreuGhe-*> II * *draujha-* (cf. Av. *draojista-*)> OIA *droha-*; IE * *meuGho-*> II * *maughā-* (cf. Av. *maoya-*)> OIA *mogha-*, but IE * *meuGhe-*> II * *maujha-*> OIA *moha-*; IE

**dhōGho*-> II **dhāgha*-> OIA *dāgha* but IE
**dhōGhe*-> II **dhājha*> OIA *dāha*.

3. Grassmann's Law now ceases to operate. Thus : OIA *dhehi*(for older **dehi*)<*dhā*; RV *duksata* for *dhukṣata*; OIA **bhavadhi* (RV *bodhi* <PIA **baudhi*; cf. Asokan *aho* <**abhot*)> Middle Indo-Aryan *bhohi*, *hohi*.

4. The pro-nominal ending *-ena* (instr. sg.) is added to the masculine and neuter stems in *-a*. The *-r* (-*ar*, -*tar*) declensions come over to the vowel type. *-ām* is added to *-bhi* in instrumental -dative-ablative dual. The masculine and feminine nom. acc. dual ending *-ān* is a survival that does not appear in Old Iranian.

There is as yet no fixity in the use of the dual endings *-bhyām* and *-os*; cf. *dhvasrayoh* (RV ix 58 3) used for the ablative and *pakṣābhyām* (*Mahābhārata*) for the locative.

The historical forms of the gen. pl. of *-a* stems are not yet entirely superceded by the forms in *-nām*; cf. the survivals: *yuthyām* (RV viii 56 4) for *yuthyānām*; *sthātām*, *carathām* (RV i 70 3) for *sthātānām*, *carathānām*; *devām* (in *devān janma*, RV) for *devānām*.

There are other instances of archaic survivals in. RV indicating their currency in Proto-Indo- Aryan.

5. The conjugational patterns are more varied than in Old Indo-Aryan. Many of the verbs later conjugated as thematic are still conjugated as athematic. The *-ske- conjugation (e.g., *gacchati*, *prcchati*) is popular. The augment is more often absent than not.

The Indo-European stage need not be discussed in detail. Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) has retained the IE declensional patterns more fully than any other cognate language and in the preservation of the conjugational patterns only Greek rivals it to a large extent. The voiced aspirates are preserved only in Indo-Aryan.

Except in the following changes Indo-Aryan (and Indo-Iranian) has preserved the Indo-European phonemic structure:—

(a) IE. *a, e, o* short and long have become *a* short and long respectively.

(b) IE sonants *m* and *n* have become *a* (also in Greek); e.g., IE**Gʷm̥tos*>OIA *gatál̥*, Gk. *batós*; IE **septu*>OIA *sapta*, Gk. *hepta*.

(c) The neutral vowel *a* (which was the unaccented form of the long vowels *a, e, o* becomes *i* (in Greek *a*); e.g., IE**dható-* (<*dhe*>)->OIA *hitá-* (Gk. *thatós*); IE. * *stato-*>OIA *sthítá-*, AV. *stita-* (Gk. *statós*).¹

(d) The pre-palatal stops (*k, g, gh*) become sibilants (*ś, z', z'h*) in Indo-Iranian as well as in Slavonic, Albanian and Armenian. (The four languages comprise the so-called Satam branches of Indo-European.)

(e) The velar (*q, G, Gh*) and labio-velar (*qʷ, Gʷ, Gʷh*) stops when immediately followed by a palatal vowel (*i, ī, e, ē*) become the “new” palatals

¹ There was another neutral vowel (“schwa secundum”) in IE. It was the reduced or unaccented form of the short vowels *e, o, a*. In II it generally becomes *a*. Thus: IE.**yag̥to-* V II *yaz̥ta*->OIA *yajata-*, AV *yazata*.

(c, j, jh) in Indo-Iranian.¹ Thus: IE **qʷe*>OIA, Av *ca* (Gk. *te*, Latin *que*); IE **Gʷiwas*>OIA *jīvah*, OP *jiva* (Gk. *bios*); but IE. **qʷos*>OIA *kah*, Av. *kō* (Latin *quos*); etc.

(f) *r* and *l* (short and long) have become *r* (short and long), and *r* and *l* have become *l*.

(g) Grassmann's Law is operative only in Indo-Iranian (and Greek). This means that if there are two aspirates in a word in IE one of them—usually the second—in II is deaspirated. (In Greek this phonemic tendency was operative even after the devoicing of the voiced aspirates.)

Thus: IE **dhughatēr*>OIA *duhitā*, Gk. *thugatēr*; IE* *bhebhoudha* (perf. of **bheudh-*)>OIA *bubodha*, Gk *pepoutha*; IE* *Gʷhegʷhōne*>II **jhaghāna*>OIA *jaghāna*; etc.

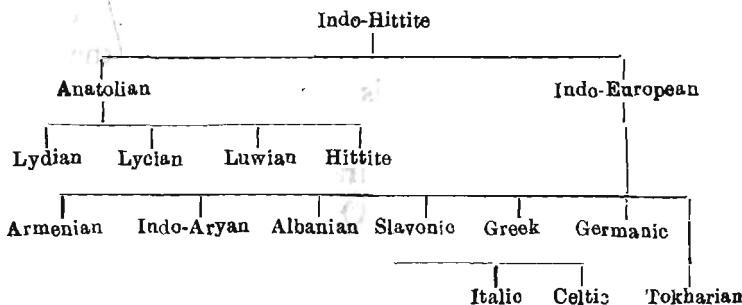
(h) The fricative conjuncts *xθ* and *γδ(h)* become *xs^v* and *γz^v* in Indo-Iranian and *kṣ* in Old Indo-Aryan. Thus: IE. **texθon*>II* *taxs^van* >OIA *takṣan* (Av. *tašan-*); IE **γδhom-*>II **γz^vam-*> OIA *kṣam-* (Av. *zam-*), Gk. *khthōn*.

Coming to Indo-Hittite, the final stage of the language so far as our knowledge and guess go, presents on the whole a phonemic and morphemic structure rather more simple than Indo-European and some of her old languages like Indo-Iranian and Greek. It may be also admitted however that Hittite, the sister language of Indo-European, which

¹ This phenomenon goes by the name of Collitz' Law.

is our main help in this matter, is largely influenced by non-Indo-European languages spoken in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia in the second millennium B.C. The cuneiform script as adopted in Hittite was far from adequate for its phonemic structure.

The relation between Hittite and the Indo-European languages may be seen from this diagram :



Indo-Hittite possessed three or four laryngeal sounds which are represented by the two laryngeals (one voiced and the other unvoiced) in the Hittite texts we know, but these sounds are lost in Indo-European.

The initial *h* in some Armenian words are possible relics of the Indo-Hittite laryngeal; e.g., H. *huhhas*, Armenian *hav* (but Lat. *avus*) 'grandfather'; H. *hannas*, Arm. *hun* (but Lat. *anus* 'old woman,' OHG *ana*) 'grandmother.'

Indo-Hittite did not possess long vowels and sonants. The long vowels and sonants in Indo-European are derived from short vowels and sonants preceded or followed by a laryngeal that is lost. Thus : IH**laxwq*¹->H. *lahha* 'war', IE * *lawa-*

¹. X stands for the unvoiced laryngeal that has remained as such in Hittite (*hh*, *h*).

Gk. *laos*, OIA *rāvus*(*xa*); IH **paxwer*->H *pahhwar*, *pahhur* “fire”, IE **pawar*->OIA. *pāva-*(*ka*-), *pūrta*, Gk. *pūr*, Old Icelandic *fūrr*; IH ***ep¹*->H *epp* ‘to take, to begin’ IE **ēp*->Lat. *coēpi* ‘I began’ OIA. *āpnoti*; IH ***es*->H *es* ‘set, sit, remain’, IE. **ēs*->GK. *ēstāi*, OIA *āste*; etc.

The Indo-Hittite declensional system seems to have been much more simple than the Indo-European system. There are only two genders, masculine and neuter, and as in IE the neuter is distinguished from the masculine only in the nom.-acc. (and generally in the singular).¹ The feminine gender developed out of the masculine at the IE stage. The cases are seenv (in Hittite six) and the numbers three. From both Hittite and IE evidence it appears that the dual number was rarely used. The plural number however is not fully represented in Hittite. In Hittite the IE case-endings are paralleled, and only the instrumental sg. is different. The ending for it is *-(e)t* which corresponds to the abl. sg. ending *-ed* appearing in II and Lat.

The following tables would illustrate the declension of the noun in Hittite and would show affinity with Proto-Indo-European:—

Masculine (including the feminine of IE) *a-* stems: *aruna-* ‘sea’ (cf. OIA *arnava-*, *varuna-*; Gk. *ouranos*; Lat. *uranus*); *newa-* ‘new’ (cf. OIA *nava-*; Gk. *neos*; Lat. *novus*); *peta-* ‘place, foundation’ (cf. OIA *pada-*, Lat. *pedus*); *esha-* ‘master’ (cf. OIA *iśa-*); *hasa-* ‘grandchild’.

¹ stands for an unvoiced laryngeal that has been lost in Hittite.

Nom. sg. *arunas* < IH* *orunos*.

Acc. sg. *arunan* < IH* *orunom*.

Instr. sg. *newet* (written *ne-u-it*) < IH* *newēd* (or **newēts*).

Dat. sg. *aruna* < IH* *orunōi* (cf. GK *oikōi*); *pete* (written *pi-e-te*) < IH* *pedēi* (dat. or loc).

Abl. sg. *arunaz* (= *arunats*) < IH* *oruno-tos* (cf. OIA *atah*).

Gen. sg. *arunas* < IH* *orunos* (cf. OIA *vanas* in *vanaspatiḥ*).

Nom.-acc. du. *hasa* (written *ha-as^v-s^va*) < IH* *xosō*.

Nom. pl. *eshes* (written *is^v-he-es^v* < IH* *esxe'es* (cf. OIA *iśāh*).

Acc. pl. *hasus* (written *ha-as^v-s^vsa-us^v*).

Gen.-dat. pl. the same as gen. sg.

Neuter *a* stems: *yuka-* 'yoke' (cf. OIA *yuga-*, GK. *zugon*, Lat. *jugum*, Goth *juk*) and *parna-* 'farm building':

Nom.-acc. sg. *yukan* (written *i-ù-kan*) < IH* *yugom*.

Nom.-acc. pl. *parna* (written *par-na*) < IH* *pornā* (cf. OIA *yugā*).

Heteroclisis of stems in *-r:-n* is characteristic of the Hittite language. As it is preserved partially in Old Indo-Aryan and sporadically in other old IE languages it must be taken as a characteristic of the consonantal declension in Indo-Hittite. In OIA we have *asthi-*: *asthan-*; *dadhi-*: *dadhan-*; *sakthi-*: *sakthan-*; *yakṛt*- (GK. *hepar*): *yakan-*; *śakṛt*: *śakan-*; *yosit* (< **yosṛt*): *yosan-*; *ahar*: *ahan-*; *ūdhar*: *udhan-*; *dos-*: *doṣan-*; *asṛj-*: *asan-*; etc.¹

¹ Heteroclisis in Hittite has explained one obscure word to us, viz., *antarvatnī* 'enciente.' In Hittite there is *weti* dat.

Heteroclitic declension (nt.) in Hittite is illustrated below. The plural forms do not occur.

Stem *watar*, *watan-* 'water' (cf. OIA *udara-*, *udra-*, *samudra-*; **udan-* as in *udanyā*, *udanyati*; English *water*):

Nom.-acc. sg. *watar* (written *wa-a-tar*) < IH *woavr*; cf. OIA. *ahah* (= *ahar*).

Instr. sg. *wetenet*.

Dat. sg. *weteni* < IH (full grade) **wedenei* or **wedeni* (loc.)

Abl. sg. *wetenaz*.

Gen. sg. (i) *wetnas* (written *ú-e-it-na-as^v*) < IH **wed-nos* (cf. OIA. *ahnah*).

(ii) *wetenas* < IH (full grade)* *wedenos*.

The declension of the pronoun in Hittite is much more simple than in IE. The declension of the first personal pronoun in Hittite is as follows:

Nom. sg. *uk* < IH **egh(o)*; cf. Gk. *ego*, Lat. *ego*, OIA *aham*.

It was used also as acc. and dat. sg.

Acc. sg. *amuk*. It was a new formation from IH *u-s-me*. (cf. II. pl. stem **asma-*; Gk. (Homeric) *ammes*, (Doric) *h̄mes*. It is used also as dat.

Gen. sg. *amel*, a new formation from IH **u-s-me*.

Abl. sg. *ametaz*, a new formation from IH **u-s-me*.

sg. (stem *wet-* or *weta-* 'year,' OIA *vat-* in *samvat-* and Gk. *etos*) 'year' and *bawetesz* 'of the same year' (stem *wetes-*; cf. OIA *vatsa-*, *vatsara-*) *vatnī* is the fm. from * *vatan-* 'year, yearling, embryo carried for a year'. So the IH heteroclitic stems were **wet-*; *wetes-*: -*weter* : -*weten*.

Nom. pl. *wes* < IH* *wes* (cf. Goth. *weis*, OIA *vayam*, Av. *vaem*).

Acc. dat. pl. *anzas* < (IH* *no-*, *n-* (cf. OIA *nau*, *nah*)).

Gen. pl. *anzel* < IH* *no-*, *n+*.

Abl. pl. *inzelas* < IH* *no-*, *n+*.

Enclitics are *-mu* (< IH* *mo-* as in GK. *moi*); *-me* (< IH* *me-* as in Old Lat. *mei-*); *-nas* (as in OIA *nah*).

In the conjugation of the verb Hittite shows a simplicity not found in Indo-European. To some extent this simplicity is a development in Hittite. But it is quite evident from a comparative study of Hittite and Indo-European verbal systems that the Indo-Hittite conjugation is by no means as elaborate and complex as the Indo-European. There are two tenses in Hittite—the present and the preterit, and two moods—the indicative and the imperative. There are two conjugations—(i) the *-mi* conjugation and the *-hi* conjugation. The *-mi* conjugation corresponds to the present and the aorist of IE and the *-hi* conjugation is comparable to the perfect. The preterit of the *-hi* conjugation, however, is a Hittite development.

The two conjugations in Hittite are illustrated below.

(i) The *-mi* conjugation. Root *es*—‘be’.

(a) Present :

First per. sg. *esmi* < IH* *esmi* (Gk. *eîmi*, OIA *âsmi*).

Second per. sg. *eszi* < IH* *essi* > IE * *esi* (Gk *eî*, OIA *âsi*).

Third per. pl. *asanzi* < IH * **sonti*¹ > IE * *sonti* (Lat. *sunt*, OIH *sánti*).

(b) Preterit :

First per. sg. *esun* < IH * *esm* > IE * (e)*esm* (Gk. *ea*, OIA *āsam*).

Second per. sg. *est* (third per. sg. used for the second per. sg.)

Third per. sg. *est* (written *e-es^v-ta*) < IH * *est* > IE. * (e)*est* (OIA (Vedic) *āh* from **ast* ; Gk (Doric) *es*).

First per. pl. *eswen* < IH * *eswen* > IE dual *(e)*eswe* (OIA *āsva*).

Second per. pl. *esten* < IH * *esten* > IE * (e)-*este* (Gk. *ēste*, OIA *āsta*).

Third per. pl. *eser* IH * *esrr* = IE. * (e)-*esent* (Gk. *en*, *ēen* ; OIA *āsan*).

(c) Imperative :

Second per. sg. *es* < IH * *es* (no ending) = IE * *esdhi* (OIA. *edhi*, Av. *zdi*).

Third per. sg. *estu* < IH * *estu* (OIA, Av. *astu*).

Second per. pl. *esten* < IH * *esten* > *(e)*stem* (OIA *stam*).

Third per. pl. *asantu* < IH * **sontu* > IE. *sontu* (OIA *sántu*, Av. *hantu*).

(d) Present participle: *asanz* (= *asants*) < IH * *sonts* > IE * *sonts* (OIA *sán* ; Gk. *heón*).

(ii) The-*hi* conjugation. Root *sak*- 'know.'

(a) Present :

First per. sg. *sakli* (written *sa-ag-ga-ah-hi*)
For the ending *-hi* compare IE *-*ii* (cf.

¹ The initial vowel is the second neutral vowel: here it stands for the reduced form of *e*.

OIA *bharā, bharāi*; Old Bulgarian *vědě* 'I know').

Second per. sg. *sakti* < IH* *sokthe* (cf.

OIA *vettha*, GK *oīstha* < IE* *woidtha*).

Third per. sg. *saki* < IH* *soke* (cf. OIA *veda* 'he knows', Gk. *oide* < IE **woide*).

First per. pl. *sakweni*.

Second per. pl. *sakteni*.

Third per. pl. *sakanzi* < IH* *sokonti*.

The development of Early Vedic from Indo-European through the intermediate stages of Proto-Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranian is illustrated below. Reconstruction of Indo-Hittite is not attempted as a clear picture of the language is yet to be fixed.

(A) Early Vedic :

ápāma sómam amṛ'tā abhūma

áganma jyótir ávidāma devā'n

kim nūnám asmā'n kṛṇavad árātiḥ

kim u dhūrtír amṛta mártiyasya—(RV VIII 48. 3).

'We have drunk Soma ; we have become immortal ; we have gone to the light ; we have found the gods. What can hostility now do to us ? O immortal one ! what indeed the mischief of man ? '

(B) Proto-Indo-Aryan (reconstructed):

apāma saumam amṛtās abhūma

aganma dyautiz^v avidāma daivāns

kim nūnām asmāns kṛṇavad arātiṣ

kim u dhūrtiz^v amṛtam martiyasya.

Here we have diphthongs not yet monophthongized; final *-s* (after *ā-*) not yet dropped before a vowel or a non-dental consonant; final *s* not yet turned into *-h* nor final *z^v* into *-r*. There persisted, probably, the final *-s* of the accusative plural ending *-ns*.

(C) Indo-Iranian (reconstructed) :

(a) *pāma saumam amṛtās* (a) *bhūma*
 (a) *gaṇma dyautis^v* (a) *vidāma daivans*
cid nūnam asmans krnavad arātis^v
cid u dhwṛ tis^u amṛta martyasya.

Here the use of the augment was facultative; the historical nt. sg. pronoun *cid* was not yet replaced by the innovated from *kim*; the stem vowel before the acc. pl. ending was not yet lengthened; the long sonant *r* was there; the final *-s^v* was not yet voiced in sandhi; and the words probably bore their individual accent.

(D) Indo-European (reconstructed):

(é) *pē'me sóumm ɳmṛtō's* (é) *bhēumē*
 (é) *gwómme dyéutis* (é) *widēmē deiwóns*
qwíd nūnóm ɳsméi qʷrnéwēd ɳrē'tis
*qwid u dhwł tis ɳmṛtē *mórtiyosyo.*

The word *asmans* was a new creation in II; the IE equivalent became in Vedic *asme* (loc., dat., pl.) The stem vowel in the vocative in IE differs from the nominative although the ablaut-grade is the same.

III

SPOKEN SANSKRIT

Classical Sanskrit is not the immediate ancestor of Middle Indo-Aryan (*i.e.*, Pali; the Prakrits and the spoken languages closely connected with them). That form of spoken Old Indo-Aryan which was not identical with any of the stages of the language discussed in the first lecture was the immediate source of Middle Indo-Aryan. Spoken Sanskrit stands in almost the same relation to Middle Indo-Aryan as Proto-Indo-Aryan stands to Old Indo-Aryan.

Really there is no record of actual Spoken Sanskrit but it is not as much conjectural as Proto-Indo-Aryan. A pretty good picture of Spoken Sanskrit may be obtained on the basis of the following sources :

- (i) The tendencies in Old Indo-Aryan from Early Vedic to Early Sanskrit.
- (ii) Words and idioms in OIA that do not conform to the phonology and morphology of the language.
- (iii) Observations of old grammarians.
- (iv) Parallel development in Old Iranian.
- (v) Buddhistic Sanskrit which is essentially a prakritised form of Spoken Sanskrit.
- (vi) Epic Sanskrit (*i.e.*, the language of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*) which is really a highly sanskritized form of Spoken Sanskrit.

(vii) Reconstruction of the source-forms of MIA words and idioms.

(viii) Reconstruction of source-forms of New Indo-Aryan words and idioms.

The phonemic structure of Spoken Sanskrit is almost the same as that of Sanskrit but there are some important variations which are mainly dialectal.

1. The short *a* has the dialectal pronunciation as a closed vowel, as indicated by Panini in the last *sūtra* in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

2. The long diphthongs are generally pronounced as short diphthongs. This supposition is necessary for the change of *ai* and *au* to *e* and *o* in Middle Indo-Aryan. It has also been the accepted pronunciation of the OIA long vowels.

aya (*ayi*) and *ava* are pronounced *ai* and *au* respectively and these short diphthongs also subsequently become monophthongs *e* and *o*. Thus : *śrayistha > *śraistha- > śreṣṭha, *trayadhā > *traidhā tredhā (RV); śrayant > śrenī ; śravaṇā > śronā.

3. The long sonant *r* was lost at the Proto-Indo-Aryan stage and Spoken Sanskrit does not possess the sound. The historical forms of the acc. and gen. pl. (which are the only forms where *r* appears in early OIA), such as *pitrah and *pitrām, were disappearing at the Proto-Indo-Aryan stage. In Spoken Sanskrit the *r*- stems have already become *u* (-i) stems and the endings are therefore normal. The forms in SpS are *pitūn (*pitīn) and *pitūnām (*pitīnām).

The short sonant *r* is a condemned phoneme in SpS. There it is being fast eliminated by the vowels *a*, *i* or *u*. This process had its start at the Indo-Iranian stage ; e.g., **pyras*>Av. *paro*, OIA *purah* ; **trras*>Av. *tarō*, OP *tara*, OIA *tirah* ; **krru*>OIA (late Vedic) *kuru* (cf. OP *kunautiy*=OIA *kṛnoti*, OP *akuta*=OIA *akṛta*). The instances of such mutation of *r* are multiplying in OIA. Thus : *viķatā*-(<*vikṛta*-) and *śithira*-(<**śṛthira*-) in RV ; *gucchā*-(< **grpsa*-), *mātula*-(<**matrra*-), *āgantuka*-(<*agantrka*-), *kroṣtu*-(<*kroṣṭr*-), *naṭa*-<**nṛta*-), *vata*-(<*vrta*-), etc. In Middle Indo-Aryan *r* is entirely absent.

When there is no elimination *r* is pronounced in SpS as *ri* or *ru* (and very rarely *ra*). This is revealed by the orthography of *trtiya*- and *śṛnoti*-.*trtiya*- is historically *tritiya*- (from the weak grade stem *tri*-) ; cf. RV *trita*, OP *śṣitiya*=**tritiya*, Av. *θritya*=OIA**tritiya*. *śṛnoti* is historically *śruṇoti* as attested by Vedic *śrudhī* (Gk. *kluthī*) and MIA *sunāmi* (Pali), *sunai* (Prakrit).

4. There is both direct and indirect evidence for the supposition that SpS at its earlier stage retained dialectally the voiced sibilant of Proto-Indo-Aryan. Direct evidence is to be found in the few words where *-jh-* appears in place of the expected *-h-*. Thus : OIA *ujjhitā*-<PIA**ujjhita*-<II**uz'z'hita*- for **uddhitā*-(>*hā*-, IIr.**z'hā*; OIA (late Sanskrit) *pajjhati* *kā* <*pad-hati*-<PIA. (*pad*-)**jhati* <II* (*pad*-) *jhati*-<IE **Gwhen*- . Indirect evidence may be obtained from such examples as Pali *nedda*-<PIA **niz'da*-> OIA *nīda* ; OIA *āṇapayati* (not in Pāṇini) <PIA

**ā-z'napayati* (beside OIA(regular) *ā-jñapayati*)<IE.
 gnō-*; OIA *uḍḍīna-*<PIAuz'dīna-*<II**udzdīna-*<IE
 **ud-dīno-*; MIA *kaḍḍ(h)a-* 'to draw out, to scratch'
 <PIA**krz'(h)a-*<II**krś-d(h)a-*; MIA *vedha-* 'to
 surround, to encompass'<PIA**vrz'dha-*<II**vrz'dha-*
 (cf. OIA *vrj-*, *vrjana-*); etc.

5. The Indo-Iranian group, consonant *plus* sibilant *plus* consonant, is characteristically simplified into consonant *plus* consonant in OIA; e.g., II**ud-stāna-*>OIA *uttāna-*; IE**dedzdhī*>II**dadzdīhi*>OIA *daddhī* (RV); II**adzdhā*>OIA *addhā*; II**manzdhātar-*>OIA *mandhātar-*; II**viś-bhis*>**viż'ḍbhīs*>PIA**viż'-ḍbhīs*>OIA *viḍbhīḥ*; etc. In Proto-Indo-Aryan the group is, dialectally, simplified into sibilant *plus* consonant (as in Iranian), and some of these forms are inherited in SpS (a few also in Sanskrit). Thus: II**dādzdhī*>PIA**dazdīhi*>OIA *dehi*; II**utstāna-*>PIA**us'ṭāna-*>MIA *uṭṭhāna-*(cf. Asokan *tisṭamto* for OIA *tisṭhan*); etc.

6. There is some resistance to the tendency of cerebralizing a dental after *i* and *u*. Thus: *vistara-* (against older *viṣṭara-*); *kapitthā-* (<**kapisthā-*) against **kapiṣṭha-* as in *kapiṣṭhāla-*; *snsthā-* against *suṣṭhu*; etc. This is also to be found in MIA finite verb forms like *kamayithā* (=*kāmayittha*) <SpS **kāmayista*= *akāmayiṣṭa*.

SpS sometimes retains the cerebralised form; e.g., **as'ṭhi*-<MIA *atṭhi* against *asthi*; MIA *paṭṭhāna-* against *prasthāna-*; etc. But here another explanation is possible: the cerebralised form of the root *sthā* (from such compounds as *ni-sṭhā*, or such a stem as *tisṭhā-*) has influenced the forms like MIA *atṭhi*.

Spontaneous cerebralisation appears in some roots ; e.g., *pāt*->*pāt*-(MIA); *cat*-; >*cat*-(MIA); *at*-: *at*-; etc.

7. Assimilation of consonant-groups is already started. In RV we have *dy*>*jy* (e.g., *dyotiś*->*jyotiś*-); - *ps*- (for *fs*-) >-*cch*- (written -*kṣ*-) as in *kṣumant*-=Av. *fṣūmant*.¹ There are some examples from classical Sanskrit (but a few of them might have been possibly adopted from Middle Indo-Aryan). Thus : *guccha*-<**grpsa*-, *kaccha*->*kakṣa*-, *kacchapa*-<*kaśyapa*; etc.

8. There is a tendency of simplifying conjuncts in -*r*- by inserting a vowel (anaptyxis). This tendency is already noticeable in RV. e.g., *rudra* is to be pronounced invariably as *rudara*. In Sanskrit there are many instances ; e.g., *indirā*<*indra*-; *puruṣa* (also Vedic)<**purṣa*- (cf. MIA *purisa*-); *dahara*- (Early Sanskrit)<*dahra*-; *rudhira*- (also Vedic) <**rudhra*- (cf. Gk *eruthros*); etc.

A reverse process is to be found in late Sanskrit words like *parsad*-<*pariṣad*-.

9. SpS has inherited some dialectal forms where there is spirantization of a stop in an initial consonant-group. Thus : *khela*-<PIA**xrez'da*-<II**kraiz'da*->**kriś*- (OIA. *kliś*-); MIA *khambha*-<**sxambha*-<*skambha*- (but MIA *kandha*-<*skandha*-); MIA *phamsa*-<**sfarṣa*-<*sparsa*- (cf. Pial *asyati*<**spaṣyati*); MIA *thuva*-<**sθuṣa* (cf. tāyu- <**stāyu*; tārā <**stārā*); NIA *thar* 'stratum' <MIA *thara*->**sθara*<*stara*- (cf. Sanskrit *tala*-); NIA *phās* 'noose,

¹ Also in *puruksu*. *kṣu*-<*-*cchu*- (?) by back formation <**fṣu* <**pṣu*- (weak grade of *paṣu*-).

trap' < MIA **phāsa-* < **sfāśa* < **spāśa-* (cf. Sanskrit, *pāśa-*); etc.

Spoken Sanskrit shows the following peculiarities in the declension of the noun and the pronoun:—

1. The dual number is replaced by the plural. The only dual forms are the forms of the numeral 'two' and of the pronoun *ubha*- 'both.'

2. The consonantal stems are systematically changed into vowel stems without a change of gender. As the *ā*- declension includes only feminine nouns the masculine root-nouns in *-ā* are changed into *-a* stems. Thus *gopā* > *gopa-*; *vr̥ṣan-* > *rr̥ṣa-*; *mās-* > *māśa-*; *pur-* > *pura-*; *dvār-* > *dvāra-*; *vāc-* > *vācā-*; *nāu-* > *nāvā* (or *naukā*); *go-* > *gāvī* (fm.), *gona-* (ms.); *diś-* > *diśā*; *yoṣan-* > *yoṣā*; *vār-* > *vāri*; *devar-* (*devr-*) > *devara-*; *pad-* > *pada-*; *naptar-* (*naptr-*) > *napti-*; *kṣudh-* > *kṣudhā*; *yudh-* > *yudhā*; *mud-* > *mudā*; *vāsar-* > *vāsara-*; **pāmar-* (cf. *pāman-*) > *pāmara-*; etc.

The same change appears in the development of Old Iranian; e.g., Old Persian gen. sg. *xšayārs^vahyā* (cf. nom. sg. *xšayārs^vā*).

3. The ablative singular which is differentiated from the genitive singular only in the *a*-stem is almost gone out of use and the new ablative singular (for all the stems) is formed by adding the adverbial affix *-tas*.

4. In the feminine declensions the dative singular is extended to other singular oblique cases except the accusative. In Early Sanskrit (late Vedic

prose) the feminine dative singular appears also as ablative and genitive (e.g., *ahalyāyai jārah* 'the lover of Ahalyā'; *nadyai payah* 'water of the river'). This idiom appears independently in Younger Avestan where the fem. dat. sg. ending *-ai* appears also for the abl., gen. and loc. sg.

5. In OIA the adverbial affix *-dhi* (in the sense of the locative) appears with single pronominal base *a-* and we have *adhi* an adnominal preposition. Spoken Sanskrit has many such additional forms (as **yadhi*, **tadhi*, **kadhi*) which survive in MIA.

The affix *-dha* also appears in SpS in such forms as **tadha*, **yadha*, **kadha*. In Sanskrit there is only *ihā* (SpS *idha*) and *kuha*, and in Vedic a few additional forms like *viśvaha*. There is also *kudā* (= *kadā*) in SpS.

6. Adding pronominal endings to the noun stems had started in the Indo-Iranian period if not still earlier. Even after the separation of Indo-Aryan and Iranian this tendency continued unchecked. In Old Indo-Aryan we find some of the adjectives with a pronominal value (such as *anya-*, *viśva-*, *pūrva-* etc.) are taking up pronominal endings (e.g. nom. pl. *anye*, gen. pl. *anyesām*, loc. sg. *anyasmin* etc.) In Spoken Sanskrit the loc. sg. pronominal ending *-smin* is extensively used, and its beginning is to be found in RV *yādrśmin* = *yādrśasmin*.

The use of the acc. pl. ending *-e* is known in SpS; it also occurs in Old Iranian (cf. OP *-daiy*.) Two explanations are possible: (i) it is an extension of the nom. pl. ending (cf. Gk *tōi*, OIA *te*), or (ii) it is an Indo-European survival.

7. There are a few forms in OIA—undoubtedly forms current in SpS—where there is a clear affinity with Iranian. Thus: Early Sanskrit (*Upaniṣad*) voc. sg. *bhagavah* (for *bhagavan*) < II* *bhagavans*; cf. Av. *bagavāo* nom. sg. (OIA *bhagavān*) < II* *bhagavāns*. The final sibilant which is lost in OIA is retained in sandhi form only (when it is not final in pronunciation); e.g., *bhagavāṁśca*.

8. In Spoken Sanskrit the gender value of some demonstrative pronominal stems is not stable as in Sanskrit. In Sanskrit *ayam* is ms. but in SpS—as in Old Persian, it is also used (dialectally) as femi. nine. The stem *ima-* in Sanskrit occurs only in acc. sg. ms. and fm. and in dual and pl. nom. and acc. (all the genders) whereas in Spoken Sanskrit it is declined throughout. Thus * *imat* (nom. acc. nt.); * *imena*, * *iminā* (instr. sg. ms., nt.); * *imasya* (gen. sg.), * *imesām* * *imānām* (gen. pl.); etc.

The pronoun *ava-* does not occur in Sanskrit except the solitary *avoh* (gen. dual, RV) but was not rare in Old Iranian. In late MIA we have forms like *oi* (< SpS * *ave*, nom. pl., cf. OP *avaiy*) and *oha* (< SpS * *avasya*, gen. sg. (cf. OP *āvalyā*) which indicate that the pronoun is in common use in Spoken Sanskrit.

The pronoun *sa* which in OIA (also in II and IE) occurs only in nom. sg. ms. and fm. shows a few additional forms in Spoken Sanskrit; e.g., *sasmin* (which in RV occurs nine times while the regular *tasmin* occurs twenty-two times) and *sasmat* (occurring only once in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*).

9. There are in SpS a variety of additional forms (mostly in singular) of the first personal

pronoun. The pleonostic *-ka* appears dialectally in nom. sg. (e.g., *ahakam*). The Eastern and East Central dialects of Asokan show some peculiar forms which undoubtedly existed in Spoken Sanskrit and probably in Proto-Indo-Aryan too. These are: *mamayā*, *mamāye*, *mamiyāye* and *hamā*. The first three words are inflected forms of *mama* (gen. sg.). In Greek also the first personal pronoun forms often bear inflections. *hamā* (dat. or gen. sg.) probably owes the initial aspiration to the nom. sg., and then **ama* becomes comparable to Greek *emeio* (Homer), *emou*, etc.

The historical dative sg. *mahya(m)* is used also as genitive in Spoken Sanskrit.

The historical loc. dat. pl. *asme* (RV only) is used in SpS also as nom. and acc. For the gen. pl. there is an alternative form **asmām* (as attested by MIA *amham*).

The dual base *āva-* does not occur and the enclitic dual and plural base *na-* is not popular.

10. The stem for the plural of the second personal pronoun in SpS is **tuṣma-*. The historical nom. -acc. pl. **yūḥ* is preserved dialectally. The nom. sg. is *tuām* (as in RV). There are parallel form of first personal *asme*, **asmām*, i.e., **tuṣme*, **tuṣmām*. The dat. sg. is *tubhyam* as well as **tuhya(m)* (which also is historical; cf. Old Iranian **mabhyam=mahyam* and it is used also as gen.).

The conjugation of the verb in SpS shows the following characteristics.

i. The dual number is not there.

2. The middle voice lingers only dialectally. The active endings are used also in 'the passive voice.'

3. There are sporadic third person pl. endings in *-r-*, which are historical survivals; e.g. *-are* (third person plural middle present and future) as in Pali *dissare* (= *dr̥syante*); Asokan (Girnar) *ārabhare* (= *ālabhyante*), *anuvatisare* = *anuvartsyante*¹.

4. The perfect tense is lost; only *āsa* and *āha* remain, but the latter has the value of the present. The periphrastic perfect is also not there.² Spoken

¹ Professor T. Burrow supposes (*Indo-Asian Journal* Vol. 1 nr. 1, pp 61-76) the survival of the Indo-Hittite third person sg. ending *-tha* in the Early Sanskrit variant *adāstha* (*Gṛhyasūtra* of Āpastambha and of Baudhāyana) and in *āsthat* (root *as-* 'throw's, double affixation). If he is correct we should accept this ending also for SpS. But other explanations are more plausible. MIA has such an ending which is explained as coming from OIA *-s-ta* (third per. sg. ending added to the aorist stem); e.g., Asokan *huthā* (= *hutthā*, cf. *Ardhamāgadhi hotthā*) < **bhū-s-ta* (the long final vowel by the analogy of *adā* < *adāt*, *atthā* < *asthāt*, etc.). *adāsta*, therefore, may be taken as a back-formation from *adattha* < **a-dād-sta* or < **a-dā-s-ta* (cf. *vethā* < IE **woidstha*).

The MIA ending *-tihā* may also be taken as second per. sg Atmanepada ending extended to the third person. Thus: *hutthā* < **bhū-s-thāh* and *hotthā* < **bhava-s-thāh*.

As regards *asthāt* which Burrow takes as *a-as-tha-t* (with double affixation) it is better to take it as the aorist of *ā-sthā-* and then it is a parallel to RV *ādat* = *adāt*. The compound root *ā-stā-* also means 'go towards; ascend, mount' (*vide* Monier-Williams' Dictionary). The semantic change is not much of a difficulty.

² The other periphrastic forms of the verb (e.g., *vidām* *kurvantu* etc., sanctioned by Pāṇini 3.1.41) are characteristic of SpS.

Sanskrit fully agrees with SpS in the loss of the perfect and non-retention of the periphrastic perfect.

5. There is a considerable confusion between the imperfect and the aorist. Here SpS agrees with OP. (viz., *akunauṣv* 'he did' < **a-kr - nau - s* (aoristic) - *t*.

6. The augment is generally not used in the past tense (imperfect-aorist). Here SpS agrees with Av. and disagrees with OP. In Sanskrit (non-Early Vedic) sandhi such as *so bhāvāt* it is perhaps better to take the verb as augmentless *bhāvat* rather than augmented *abhadat*.

7. The subjunctive mood has lost its modal sense but the forms that survive subsequently merges into either the present or the optative.

8. The primary endings are sometimes used in the optative (as in Pali and Asokan).

9. The future tense originated at the Proto-IA stage, and its development into a tense system was resisted in Vedic. The augmented imperfect of the future appears first in Late Vedic and remains in Cl. Sanskrit as the conditional tense. It however is not favoured in SpS. On the other hand SpS. possesses the imperative and the optative of the future tense. This is attested in Epic Sanskrit, in Pali and in Niya Prakrit (e.g., **kariṣyatu*, **gamiṣyet*, **dāsyatu*).

The first person sg. of the future indicative shows also the secondary ending in SpS. This probably came from the use of the augmentless conditional in the value of the simple future.¹ Thus: **śroṣyam*

¹ It may be partly due to the confusion with the sigmatic aorist.

=*śroṣyāmi* (Pali *sossam*), **anugamṣyam* =*anugamiṣyāmi* (Budhistic Sanskrit *anugamsam*); etc.

10. The causative - denominative base-affix *-paya-* which in OIA was added only to the monosyllabic roots in *-ā* appears with all secondary roots or stems (including the causative) in SpS. Thus: *kārāpayati*, *satyāpayati*, etc.

11. There are only three main types of conjugation: (i) the *-a-* type, (ii) the *-(p)aya-* or causative type and (iii) the root type (which also appears as thematic). These are however a large number of survivals from other (thematic and athematic) types of conjugation.

12. The survivals from the various conjugations (indicative mood) often differ from the form accepted by Panini. Thus:

-cha- class (OIA *gácchati*, *yicchatī*, *prechāti*, *rcchāti*, *icchāti*): **acchati*, **bhucchati* (cf. NIA *pahuchai* <**prabhucchati*); **krcchati* (Asokan *kachati*; cf. OIA *krcchra-*); cf. OP *xśv nāsātiy* (=OIA **jñācchāti* subj.).

-nā- class: *jināti* (MIA *jinai*, NIA *jine*; =*jayati*); **prāpnāti* (MIA *pāpunāti*; cf. RV *āpnāna-* pres. participle middle; =*prapnoti*); **śrunāti* (Asokan *srūnāru*, Pali *sunāhi*; =*śrnoti*); **śambhunāti* (Pali *sambhunāti*; =*sambhavati*).

-no- class: **hunoti* (NIA *hune*; =*juhoti*); *kṛṇoti* (dialectally; MIA *kunai*; =*karoti*).

-a- class (or from the aorist or subjunctive stem); **prāpati* (MIA *pāai*; =*prāpnoti*); *dayati* (Pali *deti*; =*dadāti*); **vikrayati* (MIA *vikkei*; =*vikrīṇāti*); **bhāyāmi* (Pali *bhemi*; =*bibhemi*).

-ya- class (passive) : **yāyati* (Pali *yāyati* ; = *yāti*) ; **jñāyāmi* (Pali *nāyāmi* ; = *jānāmi*) ; **sthāyati* (MIA *thāyai* ; = *tiṣṭhati*).

Root class (present and aorist) ; **utsthāti* (Pali *utthāti*, MIA *thāi* ; = *uttiṣṭhati*) ; *brūmi* (analogy of pl. *brūmāḥ* ; = *bravīmi*) ; **bhoti* (Pali *bhōti*, *hoti* ; cf. RV *bodhi* imp ; = *bhāvati*) ; **kurmi* (analogy of pl. *kurmāḥ* ; = *karomi*).

-sa- class (aorist) : **drkṣati* (Asokan *dakhati*, MIA *dekkhai* ; cf. RV *drkṣase* ; = *paśyati*) ; **karṣati* (Asokan *kassati* ; = *karoti*, *kariṣyati*).

13. The root sense is being gradually lost in SpS so that new roots are appearing where the old root is inseparably blended with the base-affix. Such treatment of verb stems is not infrequent even in OIA ; e.g. *chind-i-ti* beside *chin-it-ti* ; *bandh-āya-ti* beside *badh-nā'-ti* ; **grinth-a-ti* beside *grath-nā'-ti* ; Asokan *prajuhitavyam* for *prahotavyam*.

The following are some of the notable points in the syntax of SpS :—

1. The sociative instrumental is almost always accompanied by an adnominal postposition such as *saha*, *sacā*, *sākam*, *sārdham*, **sārtham*.

2. Many idioms are common between the instrumental and the ablative : e.g. *kūlena kūlam* 'from shore to shore' (Buddhistic Sanskrit, *Mahābhārata*, Pali). Phonetic decay is largely responsible for the final merger of the two cases.

3. The dative is falling out of use. The dative of advantage and disadvantage is already

gone, and this idiom is used periphrastically with *-artham*.

4. The partitive genitive does not appear as a notable idiom in Classical Sanskrit, and Pāṇini cursorily includes in the *sūtra* (2.30.50): *śaṣṭhī sese*. In SpS, as in Early Vedic, it is an important idiom strengthened by the disappearance of the dative.

5. The finite verb in the past tense is giving way to the passive construction with the perfect participle in *-ta*. The finite past tense is of rare occurrence even at the earliest stage of MIA, and at the second stage it is practically not there.

6. The periphrastic tenses (the perfect and the future) do not seem to have been popular idioms in SpS and they do not occur in MIA. The periphrastic verb (*i.e.* a noun in the accusative case governed by a verb) emerges as a popular though literary idiom. Thus: *prahāram dadāti* for *praharati*; *yuddham karoti* for *yudhyate*; etc.

7. New periphrastic tenses with the present or the perfect participle and the substantive verb are coming into use. Thus: *krtah asti* 'he has done'; *kurvan asti* 'he is doing'; etc.

In prosody SpS is akin to the Vedic. That is, its metrical schemes are to a large extent free of the rigidity of the sequence of light and heavy syllables. The introduction of the moric metre (*e.g.* Aryā) is a notable achievement in SpS.

SpS is a living tongue and it has also a history. Beside local or dialectal variations there is chronological variation as well. The language was current as the common official language for centuries in Northern India. The Northern Buddhists adopted it for their scripture and the result is Buddhistic (Hybrid) Sanskrit. It has been already mentioned that Buddhistic Sanskrit presents a prakritized version of SpS. It will be more correct to say that Buddhistic Sanskrit is not a uniform language as the extent of prakritisation varies in the different texts. For instance the language of *Mahāvastu* is much more prakritised than that of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and the metrical portions of *Lalitavistara* is more prakritised than *Mahāvastu*. The verses in Buddhistic Sanskrit texts are always more prakritised than the corresponding prose passages. It indicates the popular origin of the former.

A mixed language almost identical with Buddhistic Sanskrit was used as an official language by the Kushan kings during the first two centuries of the Christian era. This language presents one of the later modifications of SpS. As a specimen I quote from the Mathura Stone Inscription of Huvishka.

ayam punyaśālā prācinīkana sarukamana-
putrena kharsālera-patina vakana-patinā
akṣaya-nīvi dinna (·) tuto vṛddhito māsānu-
māsam śuddhasya caturdaśi¹ punyaśālātām²
brāhmaṇa-śatam parivisitavyam (·) divase
divase ca punya-śālāye dvāramūle dhāriye

¹ Reading caturdiśi.

² Probably a mistake for punyaśālāyām.

sädyam saktana āḍhakā 3 lavrṇa¹ prastho
 1 śakta² - prastho 1 harita-kalāpaka-ghaṭaka
 3 mallaka 5 (.) etam anādhanām krtena da
 . . . babhakṣitana pibasitana(.) ya catra
 puṇya tam deva putrasya śāhisya huviṣ-
 kasya(.) yesā ca devaputro priyah teṣāmapi
 puṇya bharatu (.) sarvāyi pṛthiviye puṇya
 bhavatu (.)

'This Charity Hall is perpetually endowed by Vakanapati of the lords of Kharsalera, son of Sarukamana of the Prāciūkas. From the interest, month by month, on the fourteenth day of the bright (fortnight), a hundred Brahmans are to be served (with food) at the Charity Hall. Everyday at the door of the Charity Hall (the following) are to be placed: 3 āḍhakas of freshly made barley meal, 1 prastha of salt, 1 prastha of dried (leaves, i.e., spices), 3 jars of green peas and 5 earthen bowls.

This is for the destitute, for the hungry and for the thirsty. Whatever religious merit (may arise) here it belongs to King Huviṣka the son of the gods. May there be merit also for those who love the son of the gods. May there be merit for the whole world.'

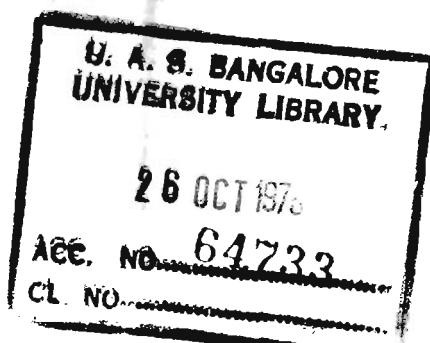
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¹ Mistake for *lavana*.

² Probably a mistake for *sukta*.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abl. = Ablative	Loc. = Locative
Acc. = Accusative	MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan
Aor. = Aorist	Ms. = Masculine
Av. = Avestan	Nom. = Nominative
AV = <i>Atharvaveda</i>	Nt. = Neuter
Dat. = Dative	OGH = Old High German
Du. = Dual	OIA = Old Indo-Aryan
Fm. = Feminine	OP = Old Persian
Gen. = Genitive	Opt. = Optative
Gk. = Greek	Per. = Person
Goth. = Gothic	Perf. = Perfect
H = Hittite	PI = Proto-Iranian
IE = Indo-European	PIA = Proto-Indo-Aryan
IH = Indo-Hittite	Pl. = Plural
II = Indo-Iranian	Pres. = Present
Imp. = Imperative	RV = <i>Rgveda</i>
Impf. = Imperfect	Sg. = Singular
Instr. = Instrumental	SpS = Spoken Sanskrit
Lat. = Latin	Subj. = Subjunctive



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